

## WEAPONS OF THE VIPER" WILL BE FOUGHT HAND BY HAND BY MANY AT PARLEY

DELEGATES TO FIGHT  
SUBS AND POISON GAS

Many Will Take Stand in  
Line With Editorial in  
'The New York Herald.'

INDORSED BY BALFOUR

Baron Kato, Japanese Min-  
ister of Marine, Is in Sym-  
pathy With Plan.

BORAH OPPOSES HUGHES

Believes That All Submarines  
Should Be Destroyed—  
Pirates, Says Fiske.

Special Despatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.  
New York Herald Bureau,  
Washington, D. C., Nov. 17.

THE NEW YORK HERALD's editorial declaration that the submarine and poison gas—"the weapons of the viper"—should be abolished in the international agreement limiting the armaments of the nations of the world struck a responsive chord to-day in Washington.

The editorial attracted the attention not only of American delegates to the conference but those of foreign nations as well. The spokesmen of the different foreign lands for the most part applauded the sentiment expressed, declaring it to be a high ideal for which the nations should strive.

They were unanimous in asserting that if war should come again it should be with weapons becoming to the civilization that conducts it, for an honorable cause, and that there must be no resort again to the vile means of killing employed in the last war.

It is necessary to breathe the atmosphere of Washington just at this time to realize the general hesitancy among those who are taking part in the conference about taking a determined stand on any subject. The foreign delegations are looking to the United States to take the lead in setting forth the programme. But while there is of necessity a lack of official quotation—that is from the foreign delegations—the sentiment is that the subjects should be included in the agreement. And there is hope that they will be there.

Lee and Balfour Line Up.

It is possible to say that Lord Lee, First Lord of the British Admiralty, together with Arthur J. Balfour, spokesman for the British delegation to the conference, are in thorough accord with the views expressed in THE NEW YORK HERALD. This is true particularly of the submarine question. There is no nation ever suffered before when the Germans brought the undersea craft into the war so lawlessly. Their stand is the same when it comes to poison gas.

Admiral Baron Kato, the Japanese Minister of Marine, let it be known that he too is in sympathy with the views of the editorial, although he felt it would be improper at this time to be interviewed for publication.

"The submarine question is now up before the conference," Admiral Kato said, "and the Japanese policy concerning them will be made known in due time. The British Government has taken the lead in asking a modification about submarines in the agreement, and the Japanese delegation is anxious to wait until the British position is made clear."

The American military position concerning poison gas always has been one of defence, and in this the other nations which have taken part in the war against the Central Powers were in accord. The United States Army maintains a chemical warfare service, with all brands of poison gas, upon the theory that every nation with the knowledge that a similar right must be granted to Americans in the same or any other province. That is for China alone to decide. The terms offered by one nation may be superior to another, there may be reasons why China should prefer to see her mines worked by Japanese rather than Americans.

The other point stressed by the Japanese is the acceptance of the fait accompli, which means Manchuria. In all my conversations with the Japanese they have shown a very stiff but not aggressive attitude in regard to Manchuria. That might be regarded as simply correct diplomacy, the wise but not entirely original policy of asking for more than they expect to receive. I believe it is something more than a diplomatic gesture.

Economics and Sentiment.

To the Japanese Manchuria is both economics and sentiment. Japan needs Manchuria for what she can get out of it; it represents to her sacrifice, and through it she looks for the eyes of the world. It is natural, therefore, that Japan should cling to Manchuria, that she should resist any attempt to be made the victim of the world's sudden change of heart.

To some extent the Japanese believe they are in danger of being made victims. They say they are content to suffer with all the rest of the world for the common good, but they see no reason why they should be asked to make an excessive sacrifice.

The meaning of the territorial integrity of China they say they understand, provided an agreement can be reached as to the geographical limits of China; but the meaning of the "administrative entity" of China they refer back to China. It is a known fact that at the present time there is no administrative entity in China, because China has two governments and numerous provincial Governors who are independent of both the Peking and Canton Governments. The Japanese hope that issue will be raised in the conference with interest to the explanation of the Chinese delegates.

Senator Borah of Idaho said: "I don't want to be understood as seeking to find criticism or find fault with Mr. Hughes's programme, but my personal view is that submarines should be destroyed. We can safely take the position of favoring the destruction of the submarine, and I heartily agree with the proposition of prohibiting their use entirely."

Senator Wadsworth (N. Y.), chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, had this to say:

"The question of abolishing the submarine and the use of poison gases in warfare is now before the arms conference. Comment by Senators upon questions before the conference, in my opinion, can serve no useful purpose."

Representative the Kellogg of Michigan, chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee in charge of the naval bill, said:

"I favor curtailment of the submarine. I doubt, however, whether it would be wise to give it up entirely, because it may be regarded as a very useful weapon of coast defence."

Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske (ret.) said:

"Submarines, illegitimately used against merchant vessels, without warning, without visit and search and with entire disregard for life and property of civilians and neutrals, are highly effective. But they are in effect pirates and outlaws, according to the rules of civilized warfare."

## Heds of the Principal Delegations to Arms Conference



Left to right are shown J. W. Garrett, secretary of the conference; Charles E. Hughes; Aristide Briand, France; Carlo Schanzer, Italy; Baron de Cartier, Belgium; Prince Tokugawa, Japan; Viscount d'Alte, Portugal.

JAPAN WOULD HAVE  
OPEN DOOR DEFINED

Delegates See Need of Revising  
Term to Express Present  
Day Meaning.

By A. MAURICE LOW.  
Correspondent of the London Morning Post.

Special Despatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.  
New York Herald Bureau,  
Washington, D. C., Nov. 17.

Discussion of the open door soon must begin. The Chinese say that as it is the pivot on which revolves the whole Far Eastern question, its consideration is essential before other issues can be determined. The Japanese say they welcome it, in this respect agreeing with the Chinese, but ask, as they have been asking for some time, for a definition of the open door.

The danger of a phrase is the mischief it does. The press talks about the open door and the public is no less vocal, but it is easier to repeat the mystic formula than to explain what it means or to understand it. The Japanese say they accept in principle the policy of the open door in China, that they not only accept it now, but have observed it, but they remark that the open door doctrine of twenty-one years ago needs modification to bring it up to date.

Secretary Hay's note to the Powers of March 20, 1900, had to do solely with leased territory or spheres of interest and was a self-denying ordinance on the part of those Powers by which they pledged themselves not to discriminate against other nations within their respective spheres. It was really an attempt to bring about open markets in China in the interest of the commerce of all the world and also to help China to preserve her territorial integrity and administrative entity," a phrase coined by Mr. Hay.

Japan's Two Principles.

In the twenty years that have elapsed since Mr. Hay wrote his note and the Powers agreed to it, the meaning of the open door has been so twisted that to-day it has little meaning. The Japanese, as the basis for discussion and the formulation of a fresh policy, ask for an explicit definition. They profess their desire to see all spheres of influence abolished and all monopolistic privileges and concessions abrogated, but they insist upon a recognition of two principles. First, the fact that nationals have a concession or other commercial privilege in China is not of itself immoral or contrary to the interests of other nations. The rest of the world provided that it is not a monopoly, carries no political power and does not exclude other nationals.

If, for instance, the Japanese are granted a mining right in a certain province, does not necessarily follow that a similar right must be granted to Americans in the same or any other province. That is for China alone to decide. The terms offered by one nation may be superior to another, there may be reasons why China should prefer to see her mines worked by Japanese rather than Americans.

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LOOKING IN  
on the conference

China's Problem, Called the Irish Question of Far East,  
Takes Centre of the Stage at Arms Conference  
—Washington's Storekeepers Reap Harvest.

By EDWIN C. HILL.  
Special Despatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York Herald Bureau,  
Washington, D. C., Nov. 17.

What, really, is China? Diplomats say that a correct solution of this riddle will be a sure guarantee of the peace of the world. Behind the great bronze doors of the Pan-American Building, Hughes, Root, Lodge, Underwood, Balfour, Lord Lee, Geddes, Briand, Viviani, Kato, Tokugawa and many others wrestle with it. It is the Irish question of the Far East, bristling with difficulties, formidable with dangers.

Nevertheless the conference, very conscious of the forefinger of public opinion, approaches the puzzle energetically, confidently. This, in a remarkable sense, is a people's conference. The big men concerned admit, privately of course, that they are not leading but are being led by the sentiment of their peoples. They are nervously aware of that fact. In every embassy, in every headquarters, the newspapers, reflecting world estimate of the proceedings day by day, are studied intently. One of the conferees said to this writer: "The world may not know just what it wants, but it is absolutely sure it knows what it doesn't want."

This sensitive, receptive attitude makes for what one might term the "democratization" of Ambassadors. At other world councils of similar aim newspaper men, go-betweens for the people, would have found it difficult to present the apples of Hesperides in a golden basket to any No. 1 plenipotentiary. Here Ambassadors seek the reporters and frequently talk with the utmost frankness. The Japanese and the British have set the fashion. "I shall put Lord Lee on the rack for you to-day, gentlemen," said Lord Riddell a little while ago. Do not spare him."

Balfour, amiably submitting himself to one of these free for all, hit or miss press conferences, made his inquiries aware of the unreliability of old saws such as "when the wire is in the wire is out," with his sparkling repartee and the felicity of his bearing. "I am growing old and a little deaf," he apologized smilingly. Out of the drunfery of questions (some of which in their downright frankness made our British colleagues wince) a Chinese reporter fired this shot: "What is meant by the open door?"

Balfour replied: "So many eminent gentlemen have explained that I can scarcely add anything." "Excuse me," the Chinese countered swiftly; "that is why I asked. I have found it impossible to understand the explanations of the other eminent gentlemen."

Perhaps the first enthusiasm of the conference is past. Possibly the thrilling novelty of such historical episodes as the first and second plenary sessions has dulled a little the ardor and the romancers pull long faces. Like the Tories John Bright excoerated, "they would have complained of the Ten Commandments." But such as these are merely shadows that serve to prove the sunlight. The spirit and atmosphere of the conference remains buoyantly confident. The men who are doing things are not cast down. The Hughes and Briand and Balfours tell us that there will be something substantial at the end of this with which to reassure the world. Polyannia is still with us.

The attitude of Congress is interesting, revealing as it unquestionably does public confidence. Several Senators told this writer to-day that teams of oratory have been pigeonholed and that nothing whatever will be done or said to embarrass the conference. Borah, who

somehow feels that he is responsible for the party, and who certainly would explode if proceedings displeased him, remains calm and amiable. Hiram Johnson, closely concerned with Far Eastern questions, throws no bricks. The Senate through Lodge and Underwood gets the real inside news. It is said that this state of affairs is extremely gratifying to the owner of the Marion Star.

Whatever the feeling may be in the rest of the country, it is plainly apparent here that the nations that raise least objection to the Hughes programme in the end will be most in favor with the public. Since all hands, British, French, Japanese and Chinese, are frankly bidding for American good will, this fact has doubtless been realized in the embassies. Sentiment against the British one ship a year replacement plan and for the British submarine disarmament suggestion has developed rapidly. The Far Eastern questions have scarcely been touched and are only vaguely understood by the majority of people.

Some of the French feel a little touchy toward the British, especially about Balfour's inquiry, very delicately put, as to what France was going to do about reducing her army. Members of the French delegation say that M. Aristide will rattle the stars in the firmament when he comes to answer that question. Briand is anxious to get an opportunity to speak as soon as possible. The Far Eastern conference makes it seem now that there will be no open session until next week. The French Premier must say his farewells within a few days. His speech is expected to be one of the great events of the conference, for Briand is a fiery orator.

Washington shopkeepers thank their stars for the conference. Things are not attempted on a pinhead scale. Expenditure is lavish, the Japanese and Chinese leading unquestionably in heavy spending, though the British are getting behind. The Orientals are "well heeled" for this party. The French entertain generously, as do the Italians, but they are frugal compared to others. Congress allowed the State Department \$200,000. I believe, for the official entertainment, but ten times that sum will be spent privately to give the visitors a good time before the conference comes to an end. Participating in the social whirl are numerous repatriated Americans with their marriageable daughters.

The Chinese are attracting more and more attention. They overlook no opportunity to gain the good wishes of Americans. There is something almost pathetic about their determination to be set right in American opinion and to win American support. One of the most attractive of the group is a sailor, Vice-Admiral Tsai Ting Kan. He was secretary to President Yuan Shi-kai in the early days of the republic. He will lecture for the National Geographic Society to-morrow. The principal press representative of the Chinese is Kiang Ling Chang. His job is like Lord Riddell's—shock absorber. Mr. Kiang-Ling speaks English ripingly, knows how the newspaper game is played here, makes good puns, and likes a "party" as well as the next man. Dr. Wellington Koo, one time Columbia student, is well known here.

As the conference develops the thoughts of many turn to the house where, silent and scarce accessible to visitors, sits the man who was the greatest of world figures only two years ago. "An old man, broken with the storms of state," he gives no sign of his meditations about the world's new effort for a better understanding. A British delegate who knew Mr. Wilson well in Paris in the days of his soaring fame discussed him to-day with this writer, saying: "He makes me think of the lines in 'Henry VIII': 'He was a scholar and a ripe good one; exceeding wise, fair spoken and persuasive; lofty and sour to them that loved him not, but to those men that sought him, sweet as sugar.'"

CONFERENCE DOINGS

THE day was largely devoted to a discussion of the Far East formula presented by China.

France stated that she would give up Kouang-Tcheou, leased from China in 1898, provided Great Britain would give up Wei-Hai-Wei and Japan would surrender Shantung.

Japan declared that she believed it fair that she should maintain a general tonnage in battleships slightly above the 60 per cent. ratio in the Hughes plan.

Statements were made to the effect that Premier Lloyd George may come to Washington soon.

The naval committee of the French Senate insisted France cannot approve Mr. Balfour's suggestion that the 50,000 submarine tonnage allowance be reduced.

CHINA'S CHIEF HOPE  
IN FOREIGN CONTROL

French Writer Asserts Her  
Natives Lack Ability to  
Manage Finances.

By GEORGES LE CHARTIER.  
Correspondent of the Journal des Debats, Paris.

Special Despatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.  
New York Herald Bureau,  
Washington, D. C., Nov. 17.

The Chinese proposals focus naturally the interest in every circle in Washington to-day. Two very different currents of opinion, or more exactly two contrary policies, seem to be running about interpretation to be given to it.

For the Americans of the Middle West, who have felt the influence of the missionaries and those who are rather blundered by the anti-Japanese feeling, it must not be doubted that China is right, that any leased territory must be returned, that the rights of extra-territoriality must be abolished, that the zone of influence can no longer exist and administrative freedom of action must be enforced everywhere in China.

For the Americans who know better and who have a serious knowledge or experience of Chinese affairs, it is well understood that China is now in full anarchy, that republic is only a word and that the administration is jealousy kept in the hands of a few Tschuna. These Americans have known of the arbitrary treatment which the Chinese dangle commit against the foreigners, when unprotected by their own government, as it has been shown in the scandalous actions by the Chinese against the Russians in Manchuria. The same people are well aware that the Chinese administrations never pay until they are managed by foreigners, as it is shown by the example of the customs and in the saltgabelle, the latter having jumped from \$12,000,000 annual income to \$70,000,000 annual income as soon as they went under foreign control.

Discredit China's Points.

For those who know China it is absolutely obvious that of the numerous points which China has presented to the conference the greatest part is to be repudiated entirely by any person of common sense and sound judgment. On the one hand, it is natural that political freedom be given to China and that her domestic questions be entirely decided by herself; if the principle of the open door should be of a great help to China and will certainly and immediately help her in her economic development; if it is only right that all the great Powers should agree to increase the custom tax of the other hand, it is absurd to imagine that the nations should abandon the fruit of the great efforts and sacrifices which were accomplished in China for the last fifty years.

To really help China at present nothing can be better than to intervene in a very friendly way in her finances, keeping a temporary control of some of her services, and so to help her to re-establish her financial base.

This control should be applied so as to reintroduce honesty in her administration, which is often poisoned by Oriental and disloyal practices, and to force the provinces to give to the Central Government the money which is essential for the economical life of the country to get rid of anarchy.

Loans Must Be Guaranteed.

China must have money. She can find it only in foreign countries, and the loans she will never be covered unless they are well guaranteed by the State administration controlled by foreigners.

All the Americans should be well aware of this, for China has just failed to honor the interest of a loan issued in America.

Of course there is a part to consider, a greater part to ignore in the actual Chinese proposal. To summarize the problem, it appears that China must be guaranteed against any aggressive policy from outside. She must be able to settle her domestic troubles in all freedom. But she must be helped by foreign control to get out of her financial failure.

After all, having read through the Chinese ten points, had we not better understand that, according to a method which may be as old as China herself, the Chinese have, this time and once more, asked for a "heap" just to obtain a little?

STOCKS DROP HEAVILY  
ON BERLIN BOURSE

Agitation Over Railroad Control Is Blamed.

BERLIN, Nov. 17.—There was a heavy slump in prices of industrial stocks on the Bourse to-day, due to a universal rush of selling orders. Some of the stocks registered declines of from 150 to 200 points. The slump apparently was due to growing opposition of the railroads to private ownership of the railroads, and proposals to tax heavy profit takers.

A few of the stocks held firm on reports that foreigners, particularly the French, were buying them. The dollar to-day swayed between 253 and 265 marks.

SHANTUNG QUESTION  
BIG CHINESE ISSUE

Evacuation of Territory  
One of Important Prob-  
lems of Far East.

OPEN DOOR IS ANOTHER

H. Wickham Steed's View  
of Points Put Forward  
in China's Formula.

ROBERT LANSING COUNSEL

Predecessor of Mr. Hughes  
Credited With Acting as Ad-  
viser of the Delegation.

By H. WICKHAM STEED.  
Editor of the London Times.  
(Copyright, 1921, by United News.)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17.—After a beginning that was grandiose the conference is becoming interesting. Mr. Hughes's great speech on Saturday clarified the haze that surrounded it before it met, and the cordial acceptance of the American proposals in spirit and in principle by the other delegations on Tuesday put the barometer at "set fair." Wednesday subsidiary currents of the atmosphere began to intermingle. The process may presently engender local fogs, which should, in good time, give place to pellucid springlike weather justifying confidence in a serene outcome.

First in chronological order, though not necessarily in significance, was the opening in some well known quarters of a press campaign against the objects of the conference in general. This development may prove instructive and beneficial, if only as an educative influence upon foreign delegations, should they be too prone to forget some of the political realities in the United States.

Next came the presentation to the conference in committee of a memorandum setting forth the views of the Chinese delegation upon Far Eastern problems. Taken in conjunction with an apparently authorized statement published this morning that the United States delegation would be ready to sign an international agreement for the limitation of naval armaments, without making such an agreement contingent upon a settlement of Far Eastern and Pacific questions, this memorandum opens up an extraordinary vista of delicate situations in which the ability and the statesmanship of the leading delegates may find the fullest play.

Lansing in the Breach.

It was supposed in some quarters that at the second plenary sitting Mr. Hughes would follow up his proposals for the reduction of naval armaments by announcing American views on a Far Eastern settlement. The difficulties and, indeed, the awkwardness of such a course were obvious. He avoided them. But now the Chinese delegation, which is currently reported to enjoy the benefit of the sage counsel of one of Mr. Hughes's predecessors, Mr. Robert Lansing, has filled the void and has raised the Chinese problem in definite form. The memorandum was not dealt with on its merits yesterday, and it will be examined by a committee of nine, composed of the principal members of all delegations, before it is debated in the grand committee consisting of all the delegates.

Whatever the origin of the solution to this Chinese puzzle, its presentation to the conference again raises the question, "What is China?" opening the proceedings of the committee yesterday Mr. Hughes did not attempt to answer this question; but he suggested extenuating circumstances for the present condition of China by saying that though she is now in difficulties, these were due largely to the fact that she had only recently changed her form of government. Americans, he added, realized from their own experience what disorders a radical change in political organization might entail, and he alluded to the disheveled condition of the United States after the revolution and before all the States had accepted the present American Constitution.

China and the United States.

Whether he intended to suggest an analogy between the antecedents of the United States, with the proved fitness of their stalwart citizens for democratic self-government, and the antecedents of the leaders of the Chinese revolution, with the unproved fitness of the Chinese masses for democratic self-government, such reports of his remarks as are published do not clearly indicate. Yet this question is naturally suggested by any comparison of the struggles of present day China with the early struggles of the American Union.

Upon the principle of the open door Mr. Hughes is reported to have said that the door must be really open, and that when it is open Japan will stand on the threshold. Thus, under a system of equal opportunity, Japan would be the first to profit. He mentioned also the Pacific mandates, and trans-Pacific communications, and announced that the Japanese-American controversy over the island of Yap had been virtually settled, thanks to the cooperation of Baron Shidehara, the Japanese Ambassador.

Upon the progress of the committee on the limitation of armaments, little is yet known, but positive announcements are promised shortly.

Notwithstanding the interest aroused by mainly technical issues, there is no reason to fear that the conference will be allowed to degenerate into a succession of controversies on detached points, or that the momentum imparted to it at the beginning will be seriously abated. Unless I am mistaken, Mr. Hughes will strive to avoid at once the danger of stampeding the conference into premature decisions, and the danger of permitting any over dispersion of its attention. Moreover, the main underlying questions are big enough to reduce details to relative insignificance. These questions, as I pointed out yesterday, are the limitation of naval armaments, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and the evacuation of Shantung. To them must be added the ulterior question of the attitude of the American people and of the Senate towards any form of international arrangement into which the Amer-

ican delegation, on behalf of the Executive, may enter.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

It is important that people in Great Britain and throughout the Dominions should realize the true position in regard to the Anglo-Japanese alliance. This position cannot be determined by any desire, no matter how laudable or profitable, to spare American susceptibilities or prepossessions. As in all matters affecting the welfare of nations or of States, this matter can, in the last resort, be settled only by regard for the well considered interests and responsibilities of the British Empire.

American opinion, which is often forgetful of historical facts, is sometimes prone to be less than just toward the services which the Anglo-Japanese alliance has rendered to the peace of the world in the past and which it rendered to the allied cause during the great war, just as it is now prone to make the retention or the abrogation of the alliance a test question of the reality of British good will toward the United States.

With all deference to American feelings, an Englishman may perhaps be allowed, without offense, to submit that this is not the most tactful way of putting the matter. The future of the Anglo-Japanese alliance needs to be determined in the light of the advantages or drawbacks which its continuance might involve. Upon mature consideration, the balance of advantage, which includes the prospective influence of the British Empire as a whole for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific and throughout the world, seems clearly

to indicate the abrogation of the alliance, irrespective of an arrangement for the limitation of armaments, beneficial though such an arrangement would eminently be as a contributory pledge of tranquillity.



FAMOUS restaurants frequently serve Long Island Duckling. The chefs appreciate its wonderful flavor. Patrons expect to find it on the menu. You can also order from your butcher for home cooking.



ROTTEN Row, Hyde Park. During the London season this is the favorite promenade. The King is to be seen riding here.

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